

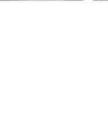
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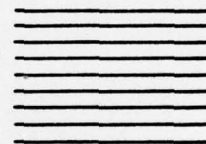
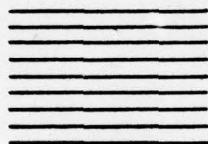
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STUDENT RESEARCH REPORT

MR. DANIEL GOLDBERG

ANTI-ZIONISM AS A THEME IN SOVIET
PROPAGANDA 1967-1977
1977

GARMISCH, GERMANY

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1967-1977

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FOREWORD

This research project represents fulfillment of a student requirement for successful completion of the overseas phase of training of the Department of the Army's Foreign Area Officer Program (Russian).

Only unclassified sources are used in producing the research paper. The opinions, value judgments and conclusions expressed are those of the author and in no way reflect official policy of the United States Government; Department of Defense; Department of the Army; Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff of Intelligence; or the United States Army Institute for Advanced Russian and East European Studies.

Interested readers are invited to send their comments to the Commander of the Institute.


ROLAND LAJOIE
LTC, MI
Commander

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Introduction

During the past eight and a half years the Soviet Union has committed much of its propaganda heavy artillery to the "struggle against Zionism". Countless newspaper, magazine, and journal articles, as well as dozens of full-length books have been written, innumerable public lectures delivered, and several films and at least one television documentary¹ produced as part of what can only be described as a "massive" propaganda offensive. Much of the campaign, of course, is nothing more than Soviet condemnation of actions taken by the state of Israel, much as the Soviet Union attacks the policies of other states. Even limited reading of Soviet anti-Zionist propaganda, however, reveals a second, at once more systematic and more disturbing genre of propaganda. The thrust of this second line of attack is that there exists a world-wide Zionist conspiracy, which is joined in an unholy alliance with "all the forces of reaction", and which is capable of heretofore unimaginable treachery and deceit.

The aims of this research paper are, through extensive reading of Soviet anti-Zionist literature, to identify and, wherever possible, analyze, the specific charges being leveled against Zionism, to determine to what extent Soviet anti-Zionism may be equated with anti-semitism, to relate and compare Soviet anti-Zionism to selected manifestations of anti-Zionism, anti-semitism, and conspiratorial theories in Russian emigre literature, and to identify the techniques used by the Soviets in their anti-Zionist campaign.

Limitations of time and resources meant that it was not possible to read all of the anti-Zionist propaganda which has poured off of the Soviet presses during the past eight years, but the major books, including the three works which are viewed by the Soviets as "classics" in the field, (Caution: Zionism!, by Yuriy Ivanov, Zionism: Theory and Practice, by a collective of writers under the direction of academician I.I. Mints, and Zionism in the Service of Anti-Communism, by V.Bol'shakov, as well as numerous representative shorter works, were read in their entirety. In the case of the three works of fiction, it was deemed good policy to read the entire texts, in spite of the fact that only certain portions were directly relevant to this paper, so as to put the critical passages in their proper context. In addition to the three works mentioned above, the following full-length works were read in their entirety and serve as the nucleus of this paper: The Secret Weaponry of Zionism, by S.Krylov; In the Name of the Father and of the Son, by I.Shevtsov; The Promised Land, by Yu.Kolesnikov; and The Prince of this World, by G.Klimov. All of the above-mentioned works were used in their Russian versions, and all translations appearing in this paper, except where otherwise indicated, are those of the author.

Although the Soviet anti-Zionist campaign has been noticed by researchers and journalists in the West, it is, with few exceptions, treated as a relatively minor subset of some larger problem. Direct Western coverage of the campaign usually

consists of isolated reviews of individual anti-Zionist works, with only occasional attempts at placing the works in any systematic framework. For the most part, the anti-Zionist campaign is cited only in passing in works on the socio-political condition of Soviet Jewry.

Neither the campaign itself, nor the specific charges, nor the implications of the conspiratorial approach to the study of Zionism have been the subject of much serious study. The best work done to date is that of William Korey² and the several articles published in the West by Soviet dissident and recent emigre Mikhail Agursky.³

This paper is not a treatise on the status of Jews in the Soviet Union. Neither is it an apologia for Zionism, nor an attempt to refute the specific Soviet charges. A number of specific charges are examined more closely and checked against Western sources, not so much to establish their credibility per se, but rather to understand the mechanics of Soviet propaganda. Available time and resources simply did not permit an exhaustive system of verification of each and every source or charge in the Soviet repertoire.

The Timing of the Campaign

The present Soviet anti-Zionist campaign was launched in late 1967. While no formal opening declaration was made at that time, Soviet sources in later years have at least tacitly accepted that period as the date for the start of the campaign. In 1975, for example, E.Nemov, writing in Molodaya Gvardiya, wrote of Zionism:

"During the past five to seven years the Soviet reader has learned a great deal about this extremely dangerous and perfidious enemy of humanity." 4

Soviet propagandists make every attempt to refute the idea, current in the West, that the anti-Zionist campaign was a direct reaction to the prestige setback suffered by the Soviet Union as a result of the disastrous defeat suffered by its Arab client states in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. During the past few years, Soviet sources, while admitting that "Marxist literature began studying these questions (of Zionism -- D.G.) relatively recently,"⁵ blame the general paucity of serious study of the matter on Zionist machinations and popular ignorance of the facts. As the Soviets put it, "from time to time, Zionism drops out of the field of vision of Marxist criticism"⁶ because: 1) Zionists seek to avoid calling attention to their unsavory acts; 2) Zionist propaganda has "disoriented" many researchers; and 3) world public opinion, for many years, knew nothing of Zionism's collaboration with White Guards reactionaries, imperialists, and fascists. In addition, claim the Soviets, Zionists have

worked hard to give the world the impression that Zionism, as such, is a thing of the long dead past.

The fact of the matter is, however, that the Soviet Union was greatly embarrassed by the poor showing made by the Soviet-trained and equipped Arab armies. It was potentially even more embarrassing to blame these defeats on the efforts of Israel alone. It was much more palatable to portray Israel as merely a part of a much larger force menacing world peace and progress. This much larger force, operating in secret ways, was found by the Soviets to be none other than the "International Zionist Concern".

Other factors were also significant in the timing of the campaign. In the wake of its launching the June War, Israel lost its image as the underdog, and among Western leftists Israel came to be viewed as an aggressor. This phenomenon, compounded by Israeli internal political division between so-called "hawks and doves", led the Soviet Union to conclude that the time was ripe to launch its offensive. Portrayal of Israel as an aggressive, expansionist, imperialist state found a receptive audience in many quarters in the West until the 1973 Arab-Israel War. The fact that in 1973 it was the Arabs who launched the attack, along with the obvious difficulties encountered by the Israelis during the course of the war, did much to return to Israel the image of the embattled underdog. Soviet works written prior to late 1973 stress the growing dissatisfaction in Israel itself, as well as in the Jewish communities of Europe and America, with

Zionist "exploitation and warmongering", and a growing vocality on the part of "progressive" forces among world Jewry. Soviet works written after the 1973 War, on the other hand, do not paint nearly as optimistic a picture of the prospects for anti-Zionism.

Another phenomenon which must be taken into consideration when thinking about the timing of the anti-Zionist campaign is the awakening of a sense of ethnic awareness among Soviet Jews in the wake of the 1967 War. The growing and ever more public expression of a desire to leave the Soviet Union for Israel were challenges which the regime could not allow to go unanswered. Certain aspects of the propaganda assault on Zionism can only be understood as an attempt to discourage emigration to Israel.

The Targets of the Campaign

The Soviet anti-Zionist campaign is not directed at a particular segment of Soviet society, but, rather, at every segment individually, as well as at society as a whole. Anti-Zionist articles have appeared in history, popular science, ideological, literary, cultural, and military journals and newspapers, as well as in specialized publications aimed at youth. Nor has any geographic area within the Soviet Union been neglected. In addition to the centralized, nationally distributed press organs, regional publications have taken a hand in getting out the word. The audience may change, but

the repertoire remains rather constant, the differences stemming from the relative emphasis placed on the warnings to the audience. The military, for example, are warned of the dangers of Israeli military aggression committed with American support, and the military and Soviet youth are warned of Zionist espionage, frequently carried out through the use of seemingly innocent Western tourists. The military are further admonished to be ever prepared to "denounce" any intrigues by imperialist espionage services.

A great deal of anti-Zionist propaganda is directed at potential Jewish emigres. As stated above, a significant goal of the Soviet campaign has been to discourage Soviet Jews from applying for exit visas to Israel. Here the emphasis is on the "exploitative" economic and political system in Israel and on the disappointment of earlier emigres from the Soviet Union. When persuasion proves ineffective, intimidation becomes the tactic.

One other significant feature of the propaganda campaign which is worth keeping in mind is the extent of the distribution of the anti-Zionist material in terms of sheer volume. In addition to the publication, and in some cases serialization, of this material in widely distributed publications throughout the Soviet Union, the full-length books devoted to the subject are produced in editions of between 50 and 200 thousand copies. As the Soviets themselves admit, this is publishing on a massive scale. As is to be expected, reviews of these major works appear in all of the major periodicals and serve as

catalysts for long-winded denunciations of Zionism. Whereas the majority of the anti-Zionist articles which appear in periodicals are done in a purely journalistic style, the full-length books are presented as works of "scholarship", replete with footnoted references to Western periodical literature. Of the Western literature which is referenced, only those portions which are critical of Israel or Zionism are ever quoted.

The Format of the Major Works

The formats of the full-length works on Zionism are rather standardized. The approach can be described as "historical development", with some differences with respect to the exact starting point and the relative emphasis placed on specific historical eras. Two of the major works in the field, Caution: Zionism and Zionism: Theory and Practice, trace the history of Zionism from the earliest possible, Old Testament, times, while other works limit themselves, by and large, to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Regardless of whatever else may be included, every work must stop to genuflect before the twin altars of Marx and Lenin. The paucity of appropriate works by Lenin is overcome by emphasizing the ramifications of Lenin's disputes with the Bund⁷, so as to make Lenin the precursor of the current campaign. The works generally then proceed to a discussion of Zionist efforts to win support from various imperialist powers during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in order to demonstrate the historical link

between Zionism and Western imperialism. This is followed by revelations of counter-revolutionary work by Zionists in pre-revolutionary Russia and during the early days of the Soviet regime, which are given as proofs of Zionism's anti-socialist essence. One of the most interesting and, to the average Western reader, unexpected sections of the Soviet anti-Zionist argument is the linking of Zionism and Nazism/fascism which has become a mainstay of the current campaign. Every major work on Zionism includes an "expose" of the organizational structure of the international Zionist concern, with great emphasis being placed on Zionist activity in the United States and on Jewish-American financial interests. No work would be complete without a denunciation of actions taken by the state of Israel and of the Israeli domestic economic and political situation. As the West has turned more of its attention to the problems of Soviet Jewry in particular and dissidents in general, the Soviet propaganda machine has increased its efforts to link dissident activity and Western protests of Soviet suppression of dissent to Zionist sponsored anti-sovietism. Just as some Americans saw a Communist behind every student demonstration, so the Soviet propaganda machine sees a Zionist behind every overt manifestation of discontent with life in socialist societies.

As for newspaper and journal articles, they frequently begin with a journalistic account of an Israeli military operation against a civilian target (e.g. a Palestinian refugee camp, Beirut airport, or a civil airliner). This incident is then used as a platform from which to launch into a critique of the

Zionist ideology and those who subscribe to it. Journal articles are of course written on a more formal level than are even long newspaper articles, and, as was mentioned above, make numerous references to Western publications.

One notable aspect of the works of non-fiction which comprise the bulk of the anti-Zionist campaign is the surprising number of errors that are made. Soviet printed matter has long had a reputation for meticulous proofreading. This appears not to be the case with the anti-Zionist material, however. Not only are the titles of Western publications frequently misspelled, but there are even instances in which the wrong dates are repeatedly given for Western articles which are essential to the Soviet argument. At least one source constantly refers to Hannah Arendt as Hannah Araent⁶, and Von Mildenstein is rendered as Von Mindelstein.⁹ In addition to the matters of simple spelling, one finds such factual errors as the locating of Bergen-Belsen in occupied Holland,¹⁰ and the statement that "B'nai B'rith was founded on the principle of the Masonic lodge on the eve of the war (presumably World War II) by Zionist anti-Communist groups in the U.S."¹¹ Soviet encyclopedias, it should be noted, list the date of B'nai B'rith's founding as 1843, five years prior to the writing of The Communist Manifesto. Another serious error committed in connection with the anti-Zionist campaign and which may be attributed to overzealousness on the part of the propagandists is an expose of Czech Foreign Minister Hajek, which appeared in Izvestiya shortly after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. The Izvestiya

article, in supposing that Hajek was of Jewish origin and had changed his name from Karpeles, had confused him with another Hajek. Worst of all, this error was exposed by the Austrian Communist Party newspaper.¹² One possible explanation for the large number of errors is that the anti-Zionist material is being rushed into print under policy guidelines which stress volume over quality control.

The Specific Charges

The specific charges levelled against Zionism are the evidence upon which the Soviets hope to convince the reader that: 1) Zionism has always been an implacable ideological foe of Socialism; 2) Zionism is at base a racial supremacy theory; 3) Zionism will go to any lengths to achieve its goals; 4) Zionism is imperialistic by nature; and 5) Zionism has actively sought and now seeks to undermine the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

It is the present Soviet interpretation of history that Zionism and Socialism have been constant enemies, and that Zionism is in fact a reaction on the part of the Jewish bourgeoisie to the "promise" of Socialism. That is to say that, whereas Socialism postulates that anti-semitism and manifestations of extreme nationalism are the result of the prevailing economic system and that all that is required in order to put the Jews on an equal footing with the rest of society is the abolition of Capitalism and the establishment of Socialism, Zionism, according to the Soviet argument, postulates both eternal anti-semitism, regardless of economic system, and the "specialness" of the Jews.

Thus there appears a fundamental difference on the issue of "assimilation" versus "separatism".

"Marxists steadfastly maintain that assimilation is a progressive phenomenon, and, for the solution of the 'Jewish question', the only feasible, positive prospect." 13

Accordingly, separatism is essential to the Jewish bourgeoisie, the class enemy of the Jewish working masses, in order to maintain its control over and exploitation of the masses. The assumption is made, though never defended, that all Jews, except for the bourgeoisie, seek total assimilation into the dominant culture. Zionism represents a spiritual ghettoization designed to lead to the surest form of physical ghettoization. It is no accident, then, that Zionism arose during a period in which rigid physical ghettoization was breaking down, and in which growing numbers of Jewish workers were joining non-Jewish workers in the struggle of Socialism. In support of this argument, correspondence between Hertzl and Pleve,¹⁴ and between Hertzl and the German government is cited in which Hertzl solicits Russian and German support for Zionism on the basis that Zionism will keep Jewish workers out of the Socialist movements. Thus runs the Soviet line.

It is on this issue of "assimilation" versus "separatism" that extensive use is made of Lenin's disputes with the Bund. Lenin is portrayed as a struggler for brotherhood among all peoples and an opponent of proposals by organizations like the Bund for the establishment of separate Jewish schools and even of separate Jewish regional soviets. Lenin is quoted as labeling Zionism as "false and reactionary in essence" because of its

claim that all Jews, regardless of their place of residence, have more in common with each other than with the non-Jews among whom they live. Lenin denied the existence of a Jewish "nation", and viewed anti-semitism and Zionism as two sides of the same coin. It is interesting to note in this context that "Jewish" is considered a nationality for Soviet internal passport purposes, and there is a Jewish Autonomous Oblast' in the Soviet Far East. Presumably, then, it is possible for a "Jew" in Latvia to have more in common with a "Jew" in Georgia than he does with the Latvian who lives next door. Nor do Soviet sources make any reference to Soviet programs of the 1920's which sought to assist Soviet Jews in the preservation of their autonomous existence. In addressing the congress of the Society for Agricultural Settlement of the Jewish Working Masses in 1926 Mikhail Kalinin, "President" of the Soviet Union, had this to say:

"...this desire to keep one's identity has developed among the Jewish masses. The struggle for their national identity and for agricultural settlement is one of the most effective methods to safeguard the autonomous existence of Jews as a nationality."¹⁵

The current Soviet position is that there are more differences (language, culture, physical features) than similarities among the world's Jews, and that Zionist claims that there is some overriding, unifying relationship are groundless and founded upon a racist mystique. The 1975 United Nations resolution equating Zionism with racism is taken as substantiation of the Soviet charge.

Unlike Socialism., which proclaims the unity of all Mankind, the announced goal of Zionism is racial exclusivity. The Soviets have branded the Zionist idea of gathering all the world's Jews into one community as the Jewish equivalent of the Volk-Deutsche movement of the 1930's. The phrase "the chosen people" is repeatedly referred to as the embodiment of a Jewish racial superiority theory, as illustrated by this excerpt from Shevtov's novel In the Name of the Father and of the Son, in which a World War II father at the front writes to his infant son:

"Don't allow a new Hitler. He may exchange the swastika for some other emblem and he will say that his nation is chosen by God to rule over the world, that his people is the most talented and worthy." 16

Indeed, any statement reflecting Jewish ethnic pride over the number of Jews who have made significant contribution to science or the arts is described as being akin to Nazi statements on the innate superiority of the Nordic type. Even speculation that the Jews may have been the object of more persecution than any other group is suspect:

"It is our conviction, that to maintain that any given nation, people, or national group has 'suffered more than anyone else in the world during the entire history of mankind' is to consciously assume a racist position..." 17

Soviet sources make extensive references to the on-going debates in Israel over the problem of defining who is a Jew. Western accounts of Israeli obstacles placed in the way of inter-faith marriage, pronouncements by various right-wing Israeli spokesmen on the need to preserve Jewish racial "purity", complaints by "African" Jews of second-class citizenship in Israel, forced relocations of indigenous Arab populations, and descriptions

of the power of rabbinical courts are all cited as examples of the racist essence of Zionism. The recent revelations that an Israeli government official had drafted a plan for the preservation of a Jewish majority in Israel through the limiting of Arab birth rates and restriction on the areas in which Arabs may live¹⁸ have not yet found their way into Soviet writings, but will no doubt prove to be a propaganda gold mine. The willingness of Israeli schoolchildren to deal harshly with Arab populations on Israeli-controlled territory, as demonstrated in the studies by Tamarin¹⁹, is another favorite Soviet example. The Soviet attitude to present-day Israel is best summed up by the following statement:

The state of Israel, arising out of a feeling of sympathy towards the Jews --victims of fascist terror, itself rapidly became an arena of racist actions akin to those of fascism. 20

It is in the context of equating Zionism with racism that every attempt is made to extend the equation so as to equate Zionism with Nazism/fascism. This line of attack yields the Soviets a great psychological benefit, for it juxtaposes Zionism and Hitler, the villain of the Soviet World War II propaganda. As a result of this continuous World War II propaganda, the Soviet populace has not forgotten the War, and stands ready to fight the "fascist" enemy. A vast amount of effort has gone into this endeavor and the period 1930-1945 is one on which the Soviets concentrate.

Before proceeding to a discussion of these charges, it would be worth bearing in mind that the Soviets (and many

people in the West) have no working knowledge of the difference between Nazism and fascism. The Soviets use the terms interchangeably, but more often use the term fascism, even in such nonsensical phrases as "German fascism". It has been speculated in some quarters that the Soviet preference for the term "fascism" reflects an ideological discomfort when using the term "National Socialism", but this latter term is used enough in Soviet writings that this theory seems rather unlikely. A more likely explanation is that the usage represents a deliberate attempt to blur the distinctions. By doing so, the Soviets are able to conjure in the reader's mind images of Jews being carted off to gas chambers whenever Mussolini, Franco, et. al. are mentioned. Thus is Naum Goldman's 1934 meeting with Mussolini to request his support for the convening of a World Zionist Congress made to look like a pact with Hitler, with the Devil himself. The fact of the matter is that there were substantial differences, especially as regards racial theory, between fascism, an Italian phenomenon, and Nazism, a German phenomenon.²¹

The essence of the Soviet charge against Zionism in this regard is that Zionism willingly, even gladly, used the Nazi racial policy to further immigration into Palestine, that Zionist leaders didn't care about the fate of individual Jews and in fact collaborated with the Nazis in selecting which Jews would be sent to Palestine, and, consequently, which Jews would be left to die in Germany, and that Zionist and Nazi racial theories were two sides of the same coin and served

to forge a bond of mutual understanding and agreement. To the average Western reader these charges are so drastic as to be dismissed almost out of hand, but that would be a mistake, for the charges are not groundless, though the individual facts are subject to widely differing interpretations.

Extensive use is made of a handful of Western sources to document the claim that the Zionists gleefully greeted the assumption of power by Adolf Hitler and overt manifestations of anti-semitism, inasmuch as they might serve as a catalyst to increased emigration to Palestine. Most prominent in the arsenal of Western sources used by the Soviets is an article which appeared in the West German news weekly Der Spiegel in December 1966.²² The article, part of a series on the SS, quotes from pro-Zionist German-based Jewish publications, such as Berlin's Jüdische Rundschau, which took an "I told you so" attitude towards the official acts of anti-semitism and steadily maintained that Jews should emigrate to Palestine because they did not belong in German society.

Direct Zionist-Nazi collaboration centers on the issue of Jewish emigration to Palestine from Germany, and Soviet sources repeatedly charge that the Jewish Agency for Palestine exploited the situation in Germany for its own benefit. The charge is made that the Jewish Agency maintained an office (the Palestine Office) in Nazi Berlin for the coordination of the selection process for prospective settlers, and that that office, under the directorship of Levi Eshkol, operated a series of "reeducation camps" in Germany in which young Jews

were trained for later work on agricultural kibbutzim. Checking the Soviet version of these events, as told in such works as Zionism in the Service of Anti-Communism, against the original version in Der Spiegel reveals that the Soviet version is true to the original in all essential details, including the quotations from Leopold von Mildenstein, an SS Untersturmführer working in Section II-112, who handled the Nazi program of encouraging Jewish emigration from Germany. Further corroboration of part of the Soviet charges can be found in Lucy Dawidowicz's The War Against the Jews, 1933-1945. Dawidowicz cites a 1935 directive from Heydrich to Bavarian police offices:

The activity of Zionist-oriented youth organizations which are engaged in the occupational restructuring of the Jews for agriculture and manual trades prior to their emigration to Palestine lies in the interests of the National Socialist state's leadership. 23

As for selectivity practiced by the Zionist organizations with respect to German Jewry, again from Dawidowicz:

Emigration to Palestine too was tightly controlled. Not only did the British limit the number of certificates, but the Zionist movement itself set up rigid standards for prospective immigrants! The Eighteenth Zionist Congress, in 1933, established, within the Jewish Agency for Palestine, a Central Bureau for the Settlement of German Jews, which, to begin with, excluded anti-Zionists as applicants for certificates. Young people in good health, with some training for agricultural work or manual trades, and persons with capital were the preferred candidates for aliya, in a process where the needs and interests of Palestine took precedence over the strategy of rescue. Systematic training and careful selection of candidates remained the chief characteristics of the migration until 1938. Indeed the ZVfD (Zionist Federation of German -- D.G.) opposed a plan of illegal migration to Palestine, approving it only after Kristallnacht. 24

It is the situation described in the last part of this citation from Dawidowicz which is totally ignored by Soviet representations of the period. The impression is left upon the Soviet reader that the pre-1938 attitude of the Jewish Agency remained through 1945. This is one example (others will follow) of a standard Soviet propaganda technique: presenting a position held during a given period as that which was held during another period.

Another charge is that the intelligence arm of the Zionist movement collaborated extensively with Nazi intelligence agents in the Middle East.

Trafficking in the sympathy towards the Jews, who had become victim to the notorious Nazis in Germany, the Zionists penetrated into the state and economic apparatus of the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition and of the neutral states, collected information and relayed it to German Intelligence.²⁵

It is also charged that Zionist paramilitary groups such as the Hagana and the Irgun had direct dealings with, and support from Nazi intelligence headquarters in Berlin. The only aspect of these charges which is in any way supported by the article in Der Spiegel is that Feivel Polkes, a Hagana commander, accused by Soviet sources of being "the chief of the fascist rezidentura in Palestine and Syria",²⁶ met with Adolf Eichmann in Berlin on 26 February 1937 and invited Eichmann to come to Palestine that Fall. Eichmann did go to Palestine in September-October 1937, under the guise of a staff member of the Berliner Tageblatt, spent two days there, proceeded to Cairo where he met the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, but was barred by the British from returning to Palestine which was then engulfed by Arab rioting. This visit

by Eichmann to Palestine serves as a key element in Yuriy Kolesnikov's novel, The Promised Land. In this novel, an attempt to use works of fiction in the anti-Zionist campaign, it is proposed that Eichmann was in fact a Zionist agent who had joined the SS on the orders of a Zionist organization as a deepcover agent and had then come to believe in the Nazi cause. The Zionists, according to this novel, sought to use Eichmann as a direct line of communications to the German government. Germany was to provide weapons to the Hagana, and the Hagana would in turn use the weapons against the British. The novel also repeats the notion that Eichmann spoke Yiddish. Other Soviet writers, such as Bol'shakov, claim that Eichmann spoke both Yiddish and Hebrew. These myths have, of course, been disproven. Eichmann had, in the course of his work on the Jewish Question, picked up a few words of Yiddish and Hebrew and had had contact with Jews in his home town of Linz, but his formal request for official funds to study Hebrew with a rabbi was denied. As for the idea that Eichmann was a Zionist agent, the impetus for this seemingly outrageous theory is probably the fact that Eichmann spoke so much about the need to have all the Jews emigrate out of Germany to Palestine, that even members of his own family considered him a Zionist for some time. ²⁷

Nazi attempts during the final phase of World War II to trade the release of some Jews, notably those from Hungary, for money and equipment are used by the Soviets both to illustrate Zionist-Nazi collaboration and to demonstrate the anti-Soviet attitude of the Zionist leaders. The idea that the Zionists

were even willing to consider giving the Germans 10,000 trucks to be used exclusively on the Eastern Front in exchange for the Hungarian Jews evokes outrage from all Soviet sources and is taken as proof positive that Zionism seeks the destruction of the Soviet Union. It is curious to note here that Soviet sources give credit for the vetoing of the proposal to Churchill, a rare tribute to a man who is generally denigrated in Soviet literature. A second charge in relation to the bargaining over the Hungarian Jews is that Zionist leaders, through Rudolf Kastner, sought to win release for a limited number of Jews who were of use to the Zionist movement in exchange for assistance in maintaining order (suppression of resistance) in the concentration camps and during the deportation process. According to the Soviet version of the story, Kastner moved to Israel after the War and became active in the ruling Israeli Labour Party, but returned to Nürnberg to testify on behalf of Kurt Becher, who had served as Himmler's agent in the bargaining over the Hungarian Jews. Kastner's testimony was decisive in Becher's case, much to the chagrin of the Allied prosecutors, but publicity arising from the case brought forth persons who accused Kastner of complicity in Nazi war crimes. According to Soviet interpretation, Kastner represented a threat to the Zionist leadership for whom he had been working, and, in order to avoid further embarrassment, the Israeli political police assassinated him. As further evidence of this conspiracy to maintain silence around the Zionist role in the extermination of European Jewry, Soviet sources claim that Swedish Count Bernadotte was assassinated by Zionist terrorists because he had been involved in the negotiations over

the release of European Jews and was a potential threat to that conspiracy of silence. The Soviet desire to portray the actions of Zionism as conspiratorial in nature is clearly visible in this attempt to link two widely separated events.

As can be seen from several of the charges discussed above, there is an underlying theme that the Zionist leadership didn't give a thought to the fate of individual Jews, but sought to exploit the situation to their own maximum advantage. In addition to the charge, mentioned above, that the Jewish Agency was highly selective in its policy on admission into Palestine, it is also charged that Zionists did everything in their power to prevent fleeing Jews from going anywhere other than Palestine, and that Zionist pressures kept the United States from opening wide its doors to Jewish refugees. In addition, the Soviets are quick to point out, "after 1939 England blocked Jewish immigration only into the countries of the Middle East. She did not bar the way for their entry into her other possessions."²⁸ There are a number of historically verifiable examples of Zionist organizations attempting to make Palestine the sole destination of Jewish refugees. Even today, in the case of the Soviet Jews who are coming out, the Jewish Agency, alarmed at the number of Soviet Jews who, upon arrival in Vienna, opt for immigration into the United States rather than Israel, has made several attempts to limit the refugees' ability to make such a choice. But in the Soviet accounts, the violent incidents, such as those involving the destruction of two refugee-laden vessels, the Patria and the Struma²⁹ are presented not as extreme examples

of Zionist disregard for the fate of the refugees, but as typical Zionist actions, as the rule rather than as the exception. "Zionists cold-bloodedly condemned the immigrants to death, if their plans fell through for one reason or another", ³⁰ writes Bol'shakov of the Zionists' attitude. It is to create this impression that in the Promised Land, the only refugee ship to figure in the novel is deliberately blown up by the Zionist underground with many of the passengers still aboard, and the entire episode is treated as a totally normal occurrence by the Zionists in the novel.

Extensive use is made of criticisms of the Jewish Agency by Israeli journalists and political figures who feel that the Agency could have done more than it did to save European Jewry, if saving lives, rather than building a Zionist state, had been the primary objective. Letters to and articles from such Israeli publications as Herut and Ma'ariv are quoted on the Jewish Agency's failure to use its broadcast facilities to warn European Jews of the extermination camps, to push for emigration of Jews from Europe to anywhere, rather than just to Palestine, or to support the boycott of German goods conducted by American Jews.

In addition, several works, including "Wild Wormwood" by Tzezar' Solodar', claim that members of a Zionist organization called "Fakel" operated in wartime Poland as agents provocateurs, infiltrating legitimate resistance movements and selling them out to the Gestapo. In support of this accusation, Swedish General Karl von Horn, Chief of Staff of the United Nations peace-keeping forces in Jerusalem from 1958 to 1963, is quoted to the effect

that the current Israeli intelligence organization has a large base of experience on which to operate because of the number of Polish Zionists now in Israel who, during World War II, cooperated with the Gestapo, and with Nazi intelligence and counterintelligence organizations.³¹ Condemnations of Zionist wartime actions also comes from Soviet Jews:

The tragedy of Babi Yar will forever remain the embodiment not only of the cannibalism of the Hitlerites, but of the indelible disgrace of their accomplices and followers -- the Zionists.³²

Hannah Arendt's book, Eichmann in Jerusalem, as well as selected testimony from the Nürnberg Tribunals, are used in every major Soviet work dealing with the Nazi period. There are also numerous references to material from the State Archives in Potsdam and to a "Catalogue of Files and Microfilms of the German Foreign Archives, 1920-1945", published by the Hoover Institute in 1963. Interestingly enough, although the latter publication is referred to frequently in footnotes, these references are to the whole catalogue rather than to individual documents within that catalogue, thus making verification an extremely difficult task. Unfortunately, time and resources did not permit any attempt at this type of verification.

Before leaving the question of the relationship between Zionism and Nazism, it should be pointed out that the theme of Zionist exploitation of anti-semitism is not limited to discussions of the 1930's and 1940's. In every historical period, so the theory goes, Zionists have encouraged manifestations of anti-semitism as a means of increasing immigration into Palestine. Soviet sources often quote from a statement

which they, (according to some sources,³³ erroneously) attribute to Ben-Gurion, on the desirability of dressing young Jews in Nazi uniforms and having them beat up Jews in order to frighten them into going to Palestine. Even postwar desecrations of Jewish cemeteries and synagogues are attributed to Zionist provocations.

Zionism as Imperialism

Another major thrust of the Soviet anti-Zionist campaign is the attempt to link Zionism to imperialism. There are two aspects to this part of the campaign. The first is designed to demonstrate that Zionism has throughout its history willingly allied itself with the major European colonial powers and did their bidding in acting counter to the anti-colonialist aspiration of the peoples of the Third World. The second aspect is designed to demonstrate that Zionists, having established the state of Israel, now pursue their own brand of imperialism and have global designs.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Zionist leaders such as Herzl and Weizman actively sought the support of various European powers in their efforts to establish a Jewish national homeland. With few exceptions, all of the areas in which such a homeland might be established were under the direct control of one or another of the great colonial powers. It was only natural, then, that Zionist leaders would turn to these powers in search of land. It should also be noted that, inasmuch as Jews were scattered throughout Europe, groups of Zionist Jews in each country tried to win favor from their own respective

government for the Zionist idea. This, however, is not the Soviet interpretation. The Soviets see in this series of appeals to various colonial powers an unprincipled willingness to serve the imperial interests of any imperial power. Soviet sources cite letters from Zionist leaders to various imperialist statesman and intra-governmental memoranda in which the usefulness to the imperial power concerned of establishing a large Jewish settlement in part of its colonial possessions is appraised. Especially as regards negotiation with the British over the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, all advocates of the proposal stressed the strategic-defense value to Britain of having a loyal Jewish-European outpost in the area of the Suez Canal, rather than a potentially volatile Arab population. Thus, in 1840, when the British were looking for a base of support within the Ottoman Empire, it was argued that, if the French had the Catholic communities, and the Russians had the Orthodox communities, why shouldn't the British have a sizable Jewish community?

Likewise, Israeli diplomatic and commercial successes in sub-Saharan Africa in the period late 1950's-early 1960's is viewed by the Soviets as a neocolonialist penetration of recently liberated countries in order to preserve the influence of the departed colonial regimes and to cut Israel in on a slice of the imperialist pie. It is in the context of sabotaging the economic development of Egypt, a developing nation, that the Israeli bombings, kidnappings, and murders of German scientists in Egypt during the early 1960's is portrayed. The reader is never told that many of the scientists in question were former Nazi rocket

designers who were working on the development of high-explosive surface-to-surface rockets for Egypt, or that among the specialists hired for the Egyptian project were people such as Hans Eisele who had conducted human guinea pig experiments at Buchenwald.³⁴

It is an essential tenet of Soviet anti-Zionist propaganda that Zionism is by nature a usurpatory ideology. Therefore, the Soviets feel compelled to discredit any and all Zionist claims to territory in Palestine, and to demonstrate Zionism's expansionist desires. The ancient Israelites, for example, are described as a rapacious horde, not unlike the Mongols, who poured out of Arabia to destroy the existing cities and culture of Palestine, and then imposed a "Jewish yoke" on the region.³⁵ In totally denying Zionist claims to an historical desire on the part of the Jewish people in the diaspora to return to Palestine, some Soviet works, most notably Zionism: Theory and Practice and Caution: Zionism!, attempt to prove that in every period of Jewish diasporan history, beginning with the Babylonian Captivity, the overwhelming majority of Jews have sought to strike roots in new areas and have systematically refused appeals to return to Palestine. Accordingly, it is only the twentieth century machinations of Zionist circles which have succeeded in luring Jews back to Palestine, in a great many cases, to the utter disappointment of those so lured. The fact that in spite of extensive Zionist propaganda the vast majority of Eastern European Jews who emigrated at the turn of the century chose to go to America, or South Africa, rather than to Palestine, the relatively small number of immigrants to Palestine/Israel from countries such as the United States or

Canada, the relatively large number of immigrants who later return to their original homeland or to the United States, and the fact that some eight percent of the Israeli population lives outside of Israel are placed in evidence for the Soviet contention that most of the world's Jews do not view Palestine as their national homeland. Statements such as that made by an 1885 congress of American Jewish organizations that the United States was Zion for American Jews ³⁶ are used in support of the argument that it is only Zionism which has worked against full assimilation in the Diaspora.

For this (full assimilation -- D.G.) there was every possibility in the U.S.A.--in this gigantic melting pot of nations, peoples and national minorities. But so as not to allow the Jews to melt into this pot, the big Jewish bourgeoisie in the U.S.A created its own 'Establishment' which pursues a Zionist line. - 37

Usurpation is a constant theme in Soviet treatments of the period of Zionist settlement of Palestine, and, of course, in treatments of the 1956, 1967, and 1973 Middle East wars. Much is made of the fact that early Zionist settlers purchased land from absentee land owners, a practice which resulted in the uprooting of the fellahin who had been farming and living on the land. In a number of cases, Zionist settlers also made cash settlements with the uprooted families, but rather than attack these settlements as insufficient or simply incapable of compensating for the psychological blow of losing the land, the Soviets choose to omit any mention of attempts to offer some compensation, no matter how insufficient. In works such as

The Promised Land every land transfer is accompanied by an armed seizure of the area and the forced deportation at gun-point of the inhabitants. Here again is the Soviet technique of presenting the extreme as the ordinary. In the case of the Middle East wars, Soviet propaganda sees in them the implementation of expansionist desires. Every extremist Zionist statement imaginable is brought forth to convince the Soviet reader that each of these wars is a step in the Zionist program of creating a "Greater Israel", "from the Nile to the Euphrates", on the basis of biblical description of the boundaries of ancient Israel. General Dayan is quoted on the first anniversary of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War as outlining the territorial gains made by Israel during the three Arab-Israeli wars, and as promising eventual expansion beyond the Jordan River, into Lebanon and into central Syria. Unfortunately, there is no specific source given which would allow verification.

The International Zionist Concern

As stated above, it is the Soviet contention that Zionism is the creation of the Jewish bourgeoisie. Now, over one hundred years after the institutionalization of Zionism, that Jewish bourgeoisie, according to Soviet theory has coalesced into the International Zionist Concern or Corporation, as the Soviets call it. This "concern" is the energy source behind modern-day Zionism, and, as such, is headquartered in both Israel and the United States. Soviet works on Zionism are fond of producing endless listings of Wall Street firms with

Jewish or partly Jewish ownership, accountings of the large corporations, especially defense contractors, which those firms "control", as well as statements on the contributions to Zionist organizations made by these Wall Street Jews. These Soviet works also stress the blood and marriage relationships among the wealthy families who control these firms. And, as one might expect, a Rothschild is to be found under every bed. Even the leaders of the state of Israel are described as "junior partners" in the immense concern. The reader is left by the lists of Jewish-owned or Zionist-dominated newspapers and magazines, financial corporations, and industrial firms, with the impression that America, indeed, the entire West, is run by a handful of Jewish plutocrats for the benefit of Zionism. Those segments of Western finance, industry, and the mass media which are not described as being directly controlled by Zionists are described as being controlled by persons who are closely allied with the Zionists. Thus, the Rockefellers, Firestones, Whitneys, Harriman's, Morgans, and Duponts, as well as the owners of the Washington Post, Time-Life, and U.S. News and World Report are classified as ardent supporters of Zionism. And yet, these same Soviet sources frequently cite reports in these very publications in support of their negative portrayal of conditions in Israel, or Israeli military actions. In a conscious attempt to blur the issue, no distinction is made between the various types of "control": ownership, investment, membership on the board of directors, employment by, or cooperation with.

The influence of this Zionist and pro-Zionist economic power on the "aggressive" foreign policies of Western countries is a popular theme. Nor are the effects of this influence seen as being limited to the Middle East.

Eisenhower,... Kennedy and especially L. Johnson... that is, all those who were actively supported by Wall Street and Zionist Capital, were responsible for the escalation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Military contractors, controlled by Zionist Capital (not by Wall Street in general--D.G.), reaped colossal profits at the expense of the gigantic military machine of the U.S.A., which operated in Indochina on the blood and suffering of both the Vietnamese and American people. 38

Soviet propaganda vigorously pursued this notion that all of the peoples of the world, including those of the West, are made to suffer privation and even death because their countries' policies, both foreign and domestic, are determined by a handful of Jewish/Zionist and pro-Zionist plutocrats who have at heart the best interests not of those countries and peoples, but of International Zionism.

Whose interests will these bankers and industrialists from the American branch of the Meyers or Baruchs, Dreyfuses or Loeb's defend? First of all they are loyal to profits, to superprofits, to international Zionism, and, accordingly, to only one state--to Israel... 39

Nor does the perfidy and treachery of these plutocrats know any limit.

The financiers-moneylenders subsidized not only that state on whose territory their bank is located, but also those countries against whom their "fatherland" is in a state of war... the wealthy Jewish bourgeoisie, traditionally dealing in usury,-- is not the exception, but rather the confirmation of that rule. 40

The influence of Zionist circles on U.S. foreign policy is

often illustrated in Soviet sources by reference to U.S. recognition of the newly created state of Israel in 1948. In several works, President Truman's memoirs are quoted to demonstrate the formidable pressures brought to bear upon the White House by Zionists, at times amounting to outright political blackmail. Truman, in his memoirs, expresses grave concern over these unprecedented pressures. Soviet works express dismay that, having felt these concerns, "Truman nonetheless recognized 'the existence of the Jewish state' literally minutes after its declaration"⁴¹ on 14 May 1948, and claim that the unprecedented speed of Truman's action did not allow the White House to forwarn the U.S. United Nations delegation and embarrassed the State Department. Reading Truman's memoirs reveals that the Soviet quoting of them is accurate in so far as Truman's displeasure with the tactics of some of the Zionist leaders is concerned but that Truman's commentary on the recognition process is ignored by the Sovier writers. Here is what Truman had to say about that matter:

Now that the Jews were ready to proclaim the State of Israel, however, I decided to move at once and give American recognition to the new nation. I instructed a member of my staff to communicate my decision to the State Department and prepare it for transmission to Ambassador Austin at the U.N. in New York. About 30 minutes later, exactly 11 minutes after Israel had been proclaimed a state, Charlie Ross, my press secretary, handed the press the announcement of the de facto recognition by the U.S. of the provisional government of Israel.

I was told that to some of the career men of the State Department this announcement came as a surprise. It should not have if these men had faithfully supported my policy. 42

The whole question of the 1948 recognition of Israel is a touchy one for the Soviets, and their writings are as significant for what they don't say as for what they do say. The United States extended de facto recognition to the new state of Israel almost as it was being declared. De jure recognition, however, did not come until January 31, 1949, six days after the first democratic Israeli elections. What was the Soviet Union doing during this period? On May 16, 1948 the Soviet Union became the first nation to extend de jure recognition to Israel. Soviet works on Zionism assiduously avoid mentioning Soviet recognition of Israel, but, curiously enough, they emphasize that on 11 June 1967 the Soviet Union broke off diplomatic relations with the state of Israel in protest of Israel's attack on her Arab neighbors.⁴³ Nor do contemporary Soviet sources make any reference to the fact that Stalin, in his anti-semitic paranoia, severed diplomatic relations with Israel in 1953, just before his death, and that relations were reestablished in July 1953 by the post-Stalinist leadership as part of the new leadership's attempts to put Soviet policy back on a rational course. The rabid anti-Zionist campaign conducted by Stalin in his waning days is in many ways similar to the current campaign and is a frightful example of where such campaigns can lead. Many prominent Soviet Jews were executed or imprisoned, including Molotov's wife, and there is evidence that Stalin planned to ship all the Jews to the Far East after the "uncovering" of the "Doctor's Plot".

The more the Soviets write about the evils of Zionism and state categorically that they have always known about the horrid nature of Zionism and have consistently fought against it in the name of highminded Socialist ideals, the more difficult it

becomes for them to explain the period of the formation of the state of Israel. Current works explain that the 1947 Arab position was unrealistic in demanding an exclusively Arab government, inasmuch as Palestine was already a conglomeration of two autonomous parts, one Arab, the other Jewish. Thus, the Soviet Union demanded the independence of Palestine from Britain and:

"the creation in Palestine of a biunial Arab-Jewish state. In the event that such a solution to the problem should prove to be impossible, then the rights of the two nationalities of the country were to be protected by means of the partition of Palestine into two independent states. 44

The Soviet reader is left to wonder why the Soviet Union, the implacable foe of Zionism, should have agreed to the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine, the goal of International Zionism. Today's "line" is that immediately after declaring itself a state, Israel set out to seize Arab villages and fill the territory with refugee immigrants rushed in from Europe. Even a casual reading of the Soviet press during the 1948 Middle East war, However, reveals that the Soviet Union lambasted the Arab governments for their aggression against Israel. There is, in fact, no convenient, believable explanation which could reconcile the Soviet's behavior in 1948 with today's Soviet propaganda. Fortunately for the Soviets, the Soviet public does not have access to Soviet press accounts and statements of that period.

It is not just in the area of foreign policy that the Soviets see an evil influence on America from Zionist organizations. Anti-Communist purges of the AFL and CIO are blamed on the work of ILGWU (International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union) leader

Dubinsky in the one case, and Arthur Goldberg in the other. Decommunization, according to the Soviet interpretation, was designed to pull the teeth out of the American workers' movement. Anti-Communism is also supposed to be the connecting link between American Zionism and the Mafia. The presence in the American underworld of persons such as Lansky, who sought and was denied sanctuary in Israel, and Siegelbaum (Bugsy Siegel) is produced as evidence for this charge. This last charge is normally simply thrown in as an "extra", without much, if any, elaboration.

One aspect of the present campaign which is reminiscent of nineteenth century anti-semitism is the attempt, wherever the opportunity arises to link Zionism with Freemasonry. Some Soviet works, for example, describe B'nai B'rith as "the international association of Jewish Masonic lodges"⁴⁵ ; an organization which "demands from its members absolute submission and unconditional maintenance of secrecy",⁴⁶ and which has secret signs and passwords which allow members to recognize one another. Other Zionist organizations are described as "half Masonic"⁴⁷ (whatever that may mean). It should be remembered that not only was the linking of Jews and Freemasons prevalent during the nineteenth century, but that Adolf Eichmann got his start in the Nazi bureaucracy as the resident expert on Freemasonry, only later coming to the conclusion that the Freemasons were some sort of Jewish sect. Catholic and Orthodox churches have opposed Freemasonry for centuries, propagating all types of myths about it, and thereby

unwittingly preparing the ground for campaigns by totalitarian regimes to eradicate it. Thus, describing Zionist organizations as Masonic ones can be expected to cause a given segment of the population of any East European country to transfer its distrust and even hatred of the Freemasons to the Zionists.

As explained earlier, every major Soviet work on Zionism has a lengthy section on the "International Zionist Concern", and included in that section is a vitriolic attack on Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal and his Jewish Documentation Center,⁴⁸ as an important operative of this "Concern". The charges against Wiesenthal fall into two categories: 1) that he collaborated with the Nazis in order to save his own life; and 2) that since the war he has acted as a Zionist and CIA operative while continuing to associate with former Nazis. As evidence for the first charge, Soviet sources refer to a couple of works by Polish authors, claiming to have testimony from people who knew him during the war. According to these witnesses, Wiesenthal's miraculous escapes from death were not the result of luck, but of his usefulness to German Intelligence as a spy. The charges covering his post-War activity are the most surprising to the Western reader, however.

In the cabinets and safes of this (Documentation--D.G.) 'center', thousands of dossiers are kept on persons in whom, in one way or another, Israeli Intelligence and the CIA are interested."
"The CIA and the Vienna 'Center' work in close contact. Simon Wiesenthal, the director of the 'Documentation Center', is especially active in collaboration with the Jewish Department of the CIA--the Jewish Section' (the Russian text gives a transliteration of the English). 49

In connection with this supposed "Jewish Section" of the CIA, a Polish book, In the Webs of Simon Wiesenthal, cited in some Soviet works, adds:

The "Documentation Center" takes part in the fulfillment of these tasks (of the supposed Jewish Section--D.G.). The "Documentation Center", hiding behind a mask of neutrality, is not, however, squeamish about cooperating with former Hitlerite agents and Jewish affairs 'experts' from the police apparatus of Nazi Germany.

The Western reader is outraged at the characterization of Wiesenthal's files on Nazi war criminals and the failure to mention his role in the tracing and eventual arrest of a number of these fugitive criminals. It is clear from Wiesenthal's biography that he has never gotten along with the Soviets. In the wake of the 1939 partition of Poland, he found himself in Soviet hands and saw his stepfather taken away by the NKVD. In the late 1950's Wiesenthal got into an argument with the Austrian Communist Party when that Party tried to take the credit for Wiesenthal's having tracked down the man who had arrested Anne Frank. Over the years a number of Communist officials in East Germany have been unmasked as former Nazis with Wiesenthals's assistance, causing some embarrassment to Moscow and Pankow. Still, it is hard to explain the viciousness of the Soviet attacks on Wiesenthal, although the Soviet charge that he has been interrogating Jewish emigres coming through Vienna may lie at the root of the Soviet attack.

In all of these Soviet attacks on the "International Zionist Concern" the Soviets have two conditions which work in their favor. In the first place, the average Soviet reader has virtually no access to outside information on the role of Jews or Jewish/Zionist organizations in the West. Secondly, in every Western country Jews are quite visible in every facet of economic, cultural, and intellectual life. It must be admitted that Jews wield influence out of all proportion with their numbers. Inasmuch as Jews are apt to take great pride in this situation and may

even take it as a sign of their intellectual or cultural superiority, it is not altogether surprising that others see something more sinister at work. This natural distrust of the concentration of wealth, knowledge or power in the hands of the members of a group which one is not allowed to join has been successfully exploited by any number of political movements. There is no reason to expect Soviet Communism to reject this populist demagoguery.

Zionism as an Underminer of Socialist States

While all of the charges against Zionism heretofore discussed are portrayed by Soviet propaganda as extremely grave, by far the most dangerous aspect of Zionism is its role as a subverter of the World Socialist Order. It is a curious aspect of the current Soviet anti-Zionist campaign that, while conducting this admittedly "massive" propaganda offensive, the Soviets contend that it is they who are under a propaganda attack of unprecedented proportions, and that the attack is not limited to propaganda. The Soviets claim that in 1970 Golda Meir proclaimed a "total offensive" against the Soviet Union. Constant references to this supposed statement by Prime Minister Meir would seem to imply that the current anti-Zionist campaign is meant to be understood as the Soviet Union's defensive response to Zionist attack. In that case one must ask how it is that the present Soviet campaign began in 1967, three years prior to Meir's statement. The Soviets would no doubt respond by pointing to other of their writings in which they maintain

that the attack by the Zionists began much earlier, and that this is merely the latest engagement in a long war between Zionism and Socialism.

The Soviet thesis is that at every step of the long road of Socialist development in Russia, and then in Eastern Europe, Zionists have sought to block progress, and, wherever possible, roll back the Socialist tide. Beginning with the earliest days of the Socialist struggle in Russia, Soviet works on Zionism cite case after case in which Jewish surnamed (and therefore Zionist) persons served as informants and provocateurs for the tsarist police apparatus.⁵¹ As has already been mentioned, Lenin's disputes with the Bund are presented as the classic example of the mutually antagonistic viewpoints of Zionism and Socialism. All of the glory in these disputes goes to Lenin, of course, and no mention is ever made of the leading roles played by Martov and Trotsky in the early disputes between the mainstream of the Russian Social Democratic Party and the Bund. In 1903, Martov, one of the early advocates of the formation of the Bund (1895), and Trotsky led the attack of the Iskra men on Bundist proposals for the formation of a separate Jewish central committee within the Party. Trotsky argued that the Bund, while being publicly opposed to Zionism, had in effect adopted the nationalist essence of Zionism in its demands for autonomy.⁵² In spite of Martov's successful defense of Lenin's position on this issue, he is portrayed in Soviet literature as having always been a Zionist. In several Soviet works, references to Martov are followed by "Tsederbaum", Martov's real name, in parentheses.

The evidence to the contrary notwithstanding, Trotsky, too, has been branded a Zionist agent in some of the more extreme appraisals of the Zionist menace. Such is the line of attack in Ivan Shevtsov's novel, In the Name of the Father and of the Son. In that work, Aron Markovich Gertsovich, the "good", Communist Jew, attributes virtually all of the Soviet Union's problems to Zionist intrigues, explaining that "Judas-Trotsky (Bronstein) is a typical agent of Zionism, the world's number one provocatuer," and further, that "Trotsky placed his cadres in the Army. And if Stalin hadn't flattened him in time, what would have happened? A nightmare worse than Hitlerism."⁵³ Shevtsov, through his character Gertsovich, is forced to admit that his theory doesn't conform to accepted Soviet versions of history.

Let the historian say what they will; I know: between Zionism and Trotskyism there is a straight, well trod path...But it isn't pleasant to speak about Zionism at all. But I'll tell you--the most dangerous enemy is the one against which no one fights. 54

There is more than a hint in this confession at the existence of a conspiracy of silence, existing with at least the tacit agreement of very powerful persons within the Soviet government or Party apparatus.

In keeping with its policy of linking Zionism with every form of anti-Communism, Soviet propaganda claims that during the Russian Civil War, Zionists actively supported the Whites and the foreign interventionists. According to this

theory, the Jewish bourgeoisie was dealt a powerful blow by the nationalization of enterprises in Russia following the October Revolution, and siding with the Whites was their only hope of regaining their lost wealth. To illustrate the magnitude of Jewish wealth in pre-Revolutionary Russia, a portion of a letter is reproduced in Caution: Zionism! which contains a list of contributions by Russian Jews to the World Zionist Organization for 1913. The letter itself was reportedly sent to one L. Kaganovich in Gomel', which has led some to speculate that inclusion of this letter in the book might be an attempt to denounce Lazar Kaganovich, a member of the Politburo under Stalin and Khrushchev, as a Zionist agent. This is extremely unlikely since Kaganovich would only have been sixteen years old in 1913.

As with the charges of Zionist-Nazi collaboration, the supposed Zionist support of the Ukrainian Directorate, Denikin, Wrangel, et.al., is used to show that the Zionists did not care what happened to individual Jews, for while these reactionary elements were getting Zionist financial and political support, they were conducting pogroms in the areas under their control. In addition to winning back their wealth, the Zionists sought to curry favor with the Great Powers so as to get concessions in Palestine. The Soviet line is that it is not a matter of coincidence that the Balfour Declaration was issued at the time that Britain was beginning discussions on intervention against the new Soviet state.⁵⁵

During the years following the October Revolution, in the areas under the control of the Reds, Zionist organizations were busy undermining Soviet power by subverting the Komsomol, supporting Trotsky, and rallying to the defense of the bourgeois press. Soviet political literature tends to lump all Jewish groups under the general heading of "Zionist", and so comes to the conclusion that even those groups which sided with the Bolsheviks were in fact working against them. According to which Soviet sources one reads, the Zionists were either:

...seeking no more nor less than the creation of their own state within the framework of Russia. 56

or:

pursuing the creation within the socialist state itself of a layer of "liberal intelligentsia", whose freedom of "thought" would be expressed in its readiness to accept and pass-off as its own, thoughts prepared for it elsewhere. 57

Even the splitting off of the left wing of the Jewish organization Poale-Zion in 1919 and its joining the Bolsheviks is viewed as a Zionist plot.

Creation of the new party reflected, on the one hand, a movement by the Jewish masses to the left, to the side of Soviet power and Communism, while on the other, an attempt by Zionists, under the cover of a Communist mask, to keep the masses under their control, to neutralize criticism of Palestinism, and to use Comintern channels for penetration into the Middle East. 58

The current anti-Zionist campaign makes no charge that Zionism in any way seriously threatened the Soviet Union from within during the heyday of Stalin's rule, and as yet, no one has had the courage to discuss the accusations leveled at Zionism in connection with the Doctors' Plot. The claim is made,

however, that during the period in which Israel and the Soviet Union had diplomatic relations Israel used its embassy as a front for subversive activities in the Soviet Union. Now, Zionist agents are said to be brought into the country by the United States and Britain. Since the beginning of the Cold War, Zionists have supposedly been the driving force behind subversion of the Soviet Union by radio broadcasts. Articles written by a number of Soviet and East European intelligence operatives who, posing as refugees, have worked for those broadcasting services before returning to their home countries, describe Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe as being staffed by Zionists and funded by CIA funds channeled through Jewish "charitable" organizations. The role of Jews in sovietology in general is frequently alluded to, and such centers as the former Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R., in Munich, are claimed to be heavily supported by Jewish millionaires.

The crux of the matter is, however, that the Soviet Union sees in Zionism a direct appeal to Jews in countries outside of Israel, especially to those in the Soviet Bloc, to place the interests of Israel above those of the countries in which they live; in other words, to become a "fifth column". The terms "fifth column" and "underground" are, in fact, used in Soviet sources when discussing Zionist goals.

"Hertzl... invites the citizens of Jewish origin in the various countries of the world to throw their patriotism overboard and, in the name of the goals of Zionism, act in accordance with the thesis of the anti-semites, that the Jews in every state are a 'foreign element'. 59

The Soviet thesis is that, inasmuch as the Zionists have been unable to get all the world's Jews to move to Israel, they have opted for the next best thing in conjunction with their desire to establish ideological and political control over Jews, regardless of where they may be. The Jewish Agency is said to view itself as a "worldwide government" to which all Jews must swear allegiance. A statement reportedly made by Ben-Gurion in 1951 is cited as proof of this attitude:

"This means the rendering of assistance to Israel, regardless of whether or not this is desired by the government of that country in which Jews live and to which they are subject...When we say: a united Jewish people, we should ignore the fact that the Jewish nation is scattered over the whole world and that, living in one place or another. Jews are citizens of those states in which they reside." 60

The Israeli government and the Zionist movement, then, view all Jews as having "dual citizenship", and, according to Soviet propaganda, this appeal to an ethnic solidarity, which is to be transferred into state loyalty, is the basic approach used by Israeli Intelligence in its attempts to recruit Soviet citizens of Jewish origin as spies and saboteurs. It is the Soviet position that "practically all activities by Zionist organizations are planned and implemented under the direction of professional Israeli intelligence operations."⁶¹

Even where Zionist organizations have been outlawed, they have not been stopped:

"They resort to the use of the synagogue and the rabbinate in those places where Zionist political organizations cannot legally exist, as, for example, in the Socialist countries, for their subversive activity and the recruitment of partisans from among the faithful."⁶²

Proceeding on this assumption, the now famous 1970 trial of the group of Jews who attempted to hijack a Soviet airliner in Leningrad in order to leave the Soviet Union is labeled as the uncovering of a ring of Zionist agents.⁶³

The campaign to win more liberal emigration rights for Soviet citizens, especially for Soviet Jews, is treated not only as a propaganda assault designed to defame the Soviet Union, but as a Zionist plot to expand the population of Israel and thereby its military potential. The other side of the coin, of course, as is directly stated in the charges concerning Zionist subversion in Czechoslovakia (below), is that emigration deprives the Soviet Union of needed scientific and cultural talent. In fact, the Soviets charge Israel with being highly selective in its choosing of "needed cadre" who can be rapidly integrated into the military effort. The American publicist I.F.Stone has been quoted in support of this interpretation:

"Zionism is tossing covetous glances at Soviet Jews... Soviet Jews fought for Russia, spilled their blood for the Revolution, made a significant contribution to Russian literature and science. Why, then, should they be withdrawn? ... because Israel is short of people for expansion." 64

The Soviet press is constantly warning Soviet Jews of the dangers of listening to Zionist propaganda, and publishes letters from and accounts of Jews who have gone to Israel and been gravely disappointed with the life they found there. The well known cases of persons seeking reentry into the Soviet Union are exploited, as are the cases of suicide by emigres who couldn't cope with life in Israel or in the West. The press also

prints letters from Jews who supposedly considered emigration to Israel, but then thought it over and decided to remain in the Soviet Union, as well as letters from Soviet Jews who express indignation at the attempts of Zionist agents to get them to emigrate and even attempting to bring down suspicion on these non-Zionist Soviet Jews.⁶⁵ The Soviets, of course, deny that they are in violation of the International Agreement on Civil and Political Rights of 1966, and maintain that Soviet Jews have the "right to choose non-freedom" if they so desire, but that "limitations on emigration flow directly out of this agreement, in particular when this relates to the maintenance of state security, public order, the health or morality of the population, or the rights and freedoms of others."⁶⁶

Every work on Zionism written in the past five years has, of course, contained a severe condemnation of the Jewish Defense League and the various actions of Western Jewish groups in defense of Soviet Jewry. The JDL and its leader Meyer Kahane are denounced as gun-toting storm troopers ("blue shirts") who were created and are supported by the CIA, Israeli Intelligence, and extremist political parties in Israel, specifically with Menachem Begin's Herut Party. (Menachem Begin, frequently identified in Soviet sources as a racist murderer who organized the notorious raid and subsequent massacre in the Arab village of Deir Yassin in April 1948, became Prime Minister in May, 1977). Some, but not most, Soviet accounts of the JDL claim that Kahane is a former CIA agent who operated under the

name Michael King in 1965. It is rather curious that Zionism: Theory and Practice, a "scholarly" analysis of Zionism, has nothing to say about Kahane's supposed CIA connections, but simply labels him "fascist-like". Other works link Kahane to the John Birch Society, the National Rifle Association, the Mafia, and even the American Nazi Party. In a replay of the tone of the charges made against Zionism with respect to White Guards elements and the Nazis, the Soviets charge that American Zionist groups defame the memory of those who died in the holocaust.

Zionists enter into agreements with reactionary and openly fascist emigre groups, closing their eyes to the fact that the members of these organizations are anti-semites, active participants in the mass murder of innocent civilians, including Jews, during the Second World War." 67

The 1971 conference in Brussels on the status of Soviet Jewry is another favorite target of recent writings. This conference is almost always referred to as a "Shabash" (sabbath, here more in the sense of a witches' sabbath), is viewed as being somehow connected with NATO headquarters in Belgium, and is treated as though it alone were ample provocation to justify the current anti-Zionist campaign.

Nor is Zionist subversive activity limited to the Soviet Union. The events in Czechoslovakia and Poland in 1968 are blamed on Zionist intrigues. An article entitled "How the Counter-revolutionary Underground was Formed in Czechoslovakia" appeared in Izvestiya in late August 1968 alleging a "plot" by Zionist agents (prominent Czech intellectuals of Jewish origin). This and other works have outlined the plot as an attempt to take over

the leadership positions in the mass media, government, and Party apparatus in order to subvert Socialism. The high positions attained by Jews such as Sik, Goldstucker, Kriegel, et.al., is proof of this plot. American Jews with official status, such as A. Bromberg, editor of Problems of Communism, and Israeli diplomats, prior to the breaking of diplomatic relations as a result of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, actively worked to sabotage Socialism in Czechoslovakia. Interestingly enough, it is charged that the Israeli diplomats, in many cases former Czech citizens who had emigrated, engaged in efforts to get "valuable Czechoslovakian specialists" of Jewish origin to emigrate. An official Czech document, "Materials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic", reprinted in Pravda of 6 August 1969, however, makes no reference to Zionist plots in the events of 1968.

The Soviets are especially worried about Zionist penetration through culture. Indeed, the whole purpose of Shevtsov's novel, In the Name of the Father and the Son, is to warn against just this danger. In this regard, Czechoslovakia is given as an example of the everpresent danger. Even revival of interest in Kafka is taken as a warning sign:

"Thus, on a European and American-wide scale, did the Zionists galvanize and make use of a literary corpse such as Franz Kafka, who specialized in descriptions of loathsome things and nightmares. Thanks to the efforts of the Zionists, forty years after his demise, Franz Kafka suddenly became significant and well known as a figure in Czech culture, to which, so to speak, he had not the slightest relation, if one doesn't count the fact that Kafka and his parents were members of the Jewish community of Prague." 68

In what can only be understood as a direct warning to Soviet writers, Bol'shakov writes of the events in Czechoslovakia:

(The Czech liberal writers' -- D.G.) fate was typical for renegades; starting out with nationalist pronouncements, with revisions of Marxism, and ending up by going over to the side of frantic reaction... The question, "On whose side are you, masters of culture?" is more current today than ever before. 69

Similarly, the events in Poland in 1968 are treated as an example of what can happen when Zionist organizations are allowed to operate openly. The Soviet version of those events is that Zionists stirred up Polish students and sought to get them to oppose their government's stand against Israel's 1967 aggression. Polish author and political dissident Jerzy Koszinski comes in for personal attack for his book The Painted Bird, which, it is charged, sought to breed hatred of Poles among Jews.

Anti-semitism: Emigre and Soviet Writings

In spite of all the Soviet efforts to demonstrate the incongruity and implacable animosity between Communism and Zionism, there are still those who claim that Zionism and Communism are somehow linked. One of the few works which even mentions this problem is Zionism in the Service of Anti-Communism in which Bol'shakov explains that it is part of the Zionist strategy of disinformation to help disseminate reactionary anti-semitic pronouncements which link Zionism and Communism. In the way of an example, he footnotes a reference to an article in Newsweek of December 1970, but there is no

indication of the specific charge made in that article or of the maker of the charge. The article in question is in fact an interview with King Faisal of Saudi Arabia. Here is what King Faisal had to say in that interview:

"Zionism and Communism are working hand in glove to block any settlement (of the Middle East conflict-- D.G.) that will restore peace... Zionism is the mother of Communism. It helped spread Communism around the world. It is now trying to weaken the U.S., and if their plan succeeds, they will inherit the world... It's all part of a great plot, a grand conspiracy. Communism, as I told you, is a Zionist creation designed to fulfill the aims of Zionism. They are only pretending to work against each other in the Middle East. The Zionists are deceiving the United States into believing they are on their side. The Communists, on the other hand, are cheating the Arabs, making them believe they are on their side. But actually they are in league with the Zionists." 70

Most readers dismiss these remarks as the ravings of an old lunatic, but there are a number of such lunatics running around. The argument presented by King Faisal finds echo in certain segments of the Russian emigre community in the West. These emigres, largely of the "second emigration",⁷¹ looking at the number of prominent Jewish revolutionaries who participated in the leadership of the revolution and the consolidation of Red power in Russia, have come to the conclusion that Soviet Communism was the work of the Jews. Inasmuch as Zionism is also the work of the Jews, the two must be closely connected. The fact that these emigres came out of a milieu which has historically been permeated by anti-semitism, predisposes them to accept the notion of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy to destroy everything holy, including Holy Russia. What results is a classic Manichaeian portrayal of history.

Typical of this mind-set are the emigre publication Russkoe Slovo ⁷² (Buenos Aires) and the works of Gregorij Klimov. ⁷³

Russkoe Slovo is caught in an interesting quandry. While purporting to be one hundred percent opposed to Soviet Communism, its hatred of Jews and Israel force it into supporting Soviet clients in the Middle East and into criticism of Soviet dissidents because so many of them are Jews, half-Jews, or friendly to Jews. The anti-semitism in this paper is blatant and former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, for example, is referred to as "the eternal kike". In addition to the Palestine Liberation Organization, Russkoe Slovo editorially supports Idi Amin of Uganda, and last year severely criticized the Israeli actions at Entebbe. In denouncing Israel for that raid, reference was made to an earlier Israeli action:

"Israel's impudence has been known for quite some time, even if only from the smuggling out of Argentina of a German under the pretext that he had exterminated six million people!?!?!? 74

The horrors of the Stalinist era are blamed on non-Russian

"Comintern fanatics":

"And all in all, one can say with certainty, that had power been in the hands of inveterate, but Russian, Communists, Russia would not have known even one thousandth of the victims and destruction which were visited upon her by the age-old enemies of Russia and the Russian people--by the Cominternist butchers; for Russians, even Communists, never felt such enmity and hatred towards their own people. And, in any event, the Russian people is not capable of such cruelty." 75

In a similar vein, Grigorij Klimov's book The Prince of This World (the title is taken from the Gospel According to Saint John, 16:8-11) postulates that the Jews and Freemasons are agents of the Devil, out to gain control of the world. All criminals,

free-thinkers, intellectual avant-gardists, decadent philosophers, including Berdyaev, and anyone else with whom Klimov is not in agreement are said to be Jews or part Jewish. In cases in which no Jewish ancestors can be found for these people, Klimov claims that they are the result of artificial insemination. Thus even Soren Kierkegaard is classified as a Jew. The thrust of the story is that Stalin, even though he himself may have been the product of such artificial insemination, sought to wipe out all these agents of the Devil with the aid of the novel's main character. The only lesson which the reader can draw from this work is that all of these evil Jews, Freemasons, intellectuals, et.al. must be exterminated in order to save Humanity. As proof of the fact that Klimov isn't alone in this lunacy, the book contains a foreword and an afterword by two Russian professors, one of contemporary Soviet literature, the other of social psychology, at two universities presumably in Britain. Both professors praise the book and engage in the same mad ravings and specious arguments as used by Klimov.

Unlike the mad ravings of the emigres, or the neo-Nazi writings of some of the extreme nationalist dissidents within the Soviet Union, Soviet anti-Zionist propaganda is rarely blatantly anti-semitic. There is, however, the everpresent danger that attacks on Zionism will be understood by the masses as a signal that open season has been declared on Jews in general. It should be noted that all the major works of non-fiction contain direct statement that Jews and Zionists are not one and the same. It is explained,

for example, that there are only some 200,000 Zionists in the United States out of a total Jewish population of some six million.⁷⁶

"Zionists and Jews are not equatable concepts. One cannot equate them. Zionists are Jewish bourgeois nationalists, and the Jews have always suffered under nationalism. Zionists are the enemies of the Jews."⁷⁷

Zionism is depicted as both the desecrator of Judaism and a spiritual form of ghettoization.

As for the works of Soviet fiction, they normally include Jewish characters who are in positive, or at least in non-negative, roles, in addition to the expected Zionist bad guys. In both The Promised Land and In the Name of the Father and of the Son there are ethnic Jews who are either life-long opponents of Zionism or who discover the "true nature" of Zionism and join the Communist in the struggle against it. Jews, as opposed to Zionists, are portrayed as good, but often naive, people who are exploited by the Zionists, but who sooner or later "see the light". This is a far cry from the traditional anti-semitic works in which Jews are only portrayed as the villains, or from works such as Klimov's. There have been some Soviet works which run along the lines of the old-fashioned anti-semitic (perhaps Shevtsov's Love and Hate),⁷⁸ but the present campaign does not appear to be directed at portraying Jews as inherently evil. One notable lapse into the methods of the past was the appearance in URSS, the French language Soviet publication, of a pamphlet issued by an anti-semitic Russian group from 1906, with the only change being the substitution of the word "Zionist" for the word "Jew". A Paris court ruled that the publication was "incitement to discrimination, hatred and racial violence."

One aspect of the anti-Zionist campaign which is disturbing in this regard is the use of political cartoons in the Soviet press. Generally speaking, Soviet political cartoons, regardless of the target, are extremely crude and almost never humorous. Those cartoons done in connection with the anti-Zionist campaign are characterized by the use of exaggerated semitic features reminiscent of the Nazi cartoons of Der Stürmer in the 1930's. And, to insure that the reader does not miss the point, the characters with the enormous noses are usually marked with numerous Star of David tattoos or patches.

Another aspect of Soviet propaganda in general which complicates analysis of the current anti-Zionist campaign is the fact that the Soviets, as a matter of course, attack religious beliefs, practices, and organizations. Thus, statements such as: "In Israel, barbaric religious practices and traditions which debase human dignity have been legislated into law"; ⁷⁹ while conforming to the Soviet policy of opposition to all religious practices, are dangerously close to the old myths about ritual murders and other acts of savagery said to be committed by Jews as part of their religious observances. These myths may in fact be what comes into the mind of the average Soviet citizen when he reads the phrase "barbaric religious practices". Trying to prove that such reactions are what is intended by the Soviet propagandists would, however, be extremely difficult, for in other places the specific practices which are deemed objectionable, usually those dealing with deciding who is and is not a Jew and with maintaining the racial homogeneity of the Jewish people, are enumerated.

Conclusions

In summary, then, the current Soviet anti-Zionist campaign is an attempt, through the use of every weapon in the Soviet propaganda arsenal, to vilify Zionism and Zionists, and to link them to every conceivable form of evil. The majority of the specific charges made against Zionism, while not wholly unfounded, are generally exaggerated or presented out of context, and are almost always expressed in highly vitriolic terminology. The nature of the Soviet political system gives the Soviet propagandist the advantage of working with, or on, a reader who is ignorant of the facts surrounding a given historical event, who lacks access to outside sources of information and is therefore unable to verify what he is told, and who does not even have easy access to Soviet sources of more than a few years past. This situation allows Soviet propagandists to pick and choose from among Western sources without fear of rebuttal based on other parts of those same sources, to portray limiting cases as the norm, to take an opponent's position during a given period and present it as his position both prior and subsequent to that period, and to present every event in its worst possible light, so as to make it seem to be the result of sinister motives or forces.

Just how effective is this campaign? It is clear from certain Soviet sources that it has not been nearly as successful as had been hoped by the Soviet leadership. The campaign has evidently met with more psychological resistance within the Soviet Union than had been expected. As recently as 1975, E. Nemo, writing in Molodaya Gvardiya, could complain:

"Even now (i.e. at least seven years into the campaign--D.G.) many people, under the influence of purposeful and constant Zionist propaganda, still approach anti-Zionist literature skeptically and warily, incorrectly assuming that, in some way or another, it constitutes anti-semitism." 80

But, as we shall see, there are other indications of the effects, if not the effectiveness, of the campaign on Soviet citizens. As for effectiveness of the campaign abroad, the exaggerations and vitriol cause many readers to dismiss the accusations as "just more Soviet propaganda".

In spite of Soviet statements about the threat which Zionism poses to the countries of the Third World, and the anti-progressive nature of Zionism, the heart of the matter is the threat to the Soviet Union itself which Zionism is seen to represent. After the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, the Soviet Union found itself faced with the realization that not only did there exist within its midst a rather large and newly awakened group of "valuable" people who wished to live elsewhere, but there was another state which already considered those disaffected Soviet citizens its own. The ideological precepts of Zionism, the presumption made by the state of Israel that it represents and can count on the support of Jews in every other country, including the Soviet Union, play into the hands of those who maintain that Jews are an alien force, and these presumptions have a potentially disastrous effect on the status of even non-Zionist Jews in their native countries. It is not surprising that the Soviet leadership, predisposed by cultural heritage to anti-semitism, and by political culture to paranoia, tends to view Zionism and

renewed Jewish ethnic consciousness from the standpoint of their potential for subversion, for these phenomena represent a unique challenge to the authority and monopoly of the Soviet regime. Rarely, if ever, before have disaffected Soviet citizens had another state with which they could identify and to which they could transfer their loyalty. To the Soviet mind, Zionism is an alien ideology which is competing for the hearts and minds of some three million Soviet citizens under the banner "Jews of all countries, unite!" Having Zionists living within the Soviet Union, spreading the cancer of their discontent among a highly educated and needed segment of Soviet society, is simply an intolerable situation for a totalitarian regime.

But, on the other hand, one cannot look at the anti-Zionist campaign only from the standpoint of Soviet reaction and paranoia. There is the offensive side of the picture to be examined as well. In addition to the rise of Jewish ethnic consciousness, the past ten years have also seen the rise of a stubborn, well educated group of dissidents, called the Democratic Movement. The Soviet Union is a state which seems less and less in control of its own people. The point is not merely that there are a number of highly visible and seemingly unquenchable political and religious dissidents, of all colorations, but that there is a lack of popular enthusiasm for the regime or for its programs. This mass apathy, combined with the reluctance, or inability, to return to the use of terror on a large scale, renders mobilization of the masses

extremely difficult. Mobilization on the basis of a threat of attack by external enemies is, with the possible exception of China, somewhat less effective than it might be as a result of pronouncements about "the relaxation of international tensions", and, in addition, does nothing to solve the problem of the domestic "troublemakers". But, as Soviet ideologues point out, the relaxation of international tensions calls for a corresponding increase in vigilance against ideological penetration and subversion. Thus is the stage set for the current campaign.

Perhaps because so many of the people involved in the Democratic Movement were either Jews, half-Jews, or closely associated with Jews, the Soviet regime either struck upon the idea or came to believe that Zionism is the glue that binds together all of the mortal enemies, real and potential, of the Soviet Union, of Socialism, and ultimately, of "Goodness and Light". As can be seen from the Soviet writings discussed in this paper, the Soviets have sought to link racism, Nazism, Imperialism, Capitalism, Soviet dissidents, the Mafia, and even Maoist China ⁸¹ to Zionism in the minds of the Soviet people. Seen in this light, the anti-Zionist campaign, especially the mass media articles, is designed to make the average Soviet citizen equate Zionism with the incarnation of Evil (much as Klimov does, albeit in a less literal sense) in order to rally the masses against the enemies of the state. If Zionism is Evil, and if the Soviet mass media and social and political scientists have "scientifically" demonstrated this fact, then anyone who wishes to emigrate to Israel is knowingly joining forces with Evil, joining the enemy.

"A man who has turned to the Zionist faith, automatically becomes an agent of the International Zionist Concern, and, consequently, an enemy of the Soviet people." (underlining mine--D.G.) 82

In this context, the Soviet practice of granting exit visas almost exclusively for Israel, and the forcing of a number of non-Jewish dissidents to sign false affidavits that they were part Jewish before forcing them to leave the Soviet Union is an attempt by the regime to discredit all of the dissidents by denouncing them all as Zionist agents.

Equally frightening in its implications is the use of a conspiratorial theory to explain the danger. By propagating the idea that there exists an unseen, extremely clever and treacherous enemy operating within the Soviet Union itself, the regime is preparing the masses psychologically so that they will be willing to accept radical measures to eradicate the unseen enemy should the regime deem such measures necessary. In order to conduct a major crackdown along these lines, the conspiracy would have to be said to include more than just Zionist Jews. The non-Jewish dissident would have to be shown to be serving the cause or in the pay of some hostile force. Whether the regime would ever be willing to risk the possible consequences of such radical measures, especially the consequences for foreign policy, is problematic, but recent attempts to link the dissidents with Zionist and CIA agents are ominous.

As this paper is being written, the Soviet regime, under mounting pressure from the Carter Administration over human rights,

is stepping up its campaign against Zionism in particular and against the dissidents in general. The actions resulting from the nation-wide broadcast of a television documentary, "Buyers of Souls" (a reference to Satan worthy of Klimov), in which it was claimed that those seeking exit visas were encouraged to apply and financed by Zionist agents, are an indication of the effects of the anti-Zionist campaign. The documentary gave the names and addresses of a number of Jews who had been trying for some time to get exit visas. Immediately after the airing of the program, the would-be emigres began receiving threatening telephone calls and were abused on the street, while their children were called "kikes" by their schoolmates. In this particular case the regime calculatedly sought to exploit traditional anti-semitism in order to intimidate those who have refused to be cowed into submission by official actions. It appears that the regime intends to direct that anti-semitism against a small select group of people, that the regime's attitude has little to do with notions of blood and soil, but, rather, is a question of conformity. Only those who directly oppose the regime, or who see themselves as Jews first and foremost, are likely to be the direct targets of the campaign. Indeed, many of the writers in the forefront of the anti-Zionist campaign are themselves ethnic Jews.

But what of the indirect targets, the unintended victims? As Khrushchev wrote in his memoirs: "Unfortunately, the germs of anti-semitism remained in our system, and apparently there still isn't the necessary discouragement of it and resistance to it." Given the demonstrated capacity of the Soviet masses for

anti-semitic acts of violence, there is a nagging question which no one can answer. Can the Soviet regime, once it has unleashed the awesome weapon of traditional anti-semitism in the name of anti-Zionism, keep it on target and under control? On the answer to that question hangs the future of thousands, if not millions, of people in the Soviet Union.

FOOTNOTES

¹A documentary "Buyers of Souls", was broadcast on all-union television on 22 January 1977. For commentary on that broadcast, see: V.Kassis and B.Pilyatskin, "Pautina Lzhi--Gryaznye anti-sovetskie metody skupshchikov dush" (Web of Lies--Sordid Antisoviet Methods of the Buyers of Souls), Nedelya, #6, 1977, p. 12; "Zapping the Zionists" Time, European edition, March 28, 1977, pp. 13-14; Michel Gordey, "Anti-semitisme dechaine a Moscou", L'Express, Edition Internationale, 14-20 March, 1977, p. 46.

²William Korey, "The Origins and Development of Soviet Anti-Semitism: An Analysis", Slavic Review, March, 1972, pp. 111-135.

³Mikhail Agursky, "Neonatsistskaya Opasnost' v Sovetskom Soyuze" (The Neonazi Danger in the Soviet Union), Novyi Zhurnal, #118 (1975), pp. 199-227.

Mikhail Agursky, "Selling Anti-Semitism In Moscow", The New York Review of Books, November 16, 1972, p. 19.

⁴E.Nemov, "Polzuchaya Kontrrevolyutsiya" (Creeping Counter-revolution), review of V.Begun's Creeping Counterrevolution in Molodaya Gvardiya, # 2, 1975, pp. 290-299.

⁵L.Vostokov, "Antinarodnaya deyatel'nost' sionistov v Rossii" (Antinational Activity of the Zionists in Russia), Voprosy Istorii, # 3, 1973, p. 23.

⁶Vladimir Bol'shakov, Sionizm na sluzhbe antikommunizma (Zionism in the Service of Anti-Communism), (Moskva: Politizdat 1972), p. 146.

⁷A non-Zionist, Jewish social democratic workers' organization.

⁸Yurij S.Ivanov, Ostorozhno: Sionizm! (Caution: Zionism!), (Moskva: Politizdat, 1969) p. 89 and others.

⁹Bol'shakov, op.cit., and others.

¹⁰Tsazar' Solodar', "Dikaya polyn' (Iz knigi o sionizme)", (Wild Wormwood (from a book on Zionism)), Molodaya Gvardiya, # 9, 1976, p. 278.

¹¹Vadim Raevskij, "Kto oni--poklonniki siona?" (Who are They, These Worshipers of Zion?), Nedelya, # 6, 1976, p. 5.

- ¹²Korey, op.cit., p. 132.
- ¹³A.Kuz'min, "Sionizm: Teoriya i praktika" (Zionism: Theory and Practice), review of Academician Mints' Zionism: Theory and Practice in Molodaya Gvardiya, # 10, 1974, p. 304.
- ¹⁴Vyacheslav von Plehve, Interior Minister under Nicholas II.
- ¹⁵Mikhail Kalinin, as quoted in Samuel Ettinger, "Anti-Zionism and Anti-Semitism", Insight--Soviet Jews (London), Vol. 2, No. 5, May, 1976, p. 5.
- ¹⁶Ivan Shevtsov, Vo imya ottsa i syna (In the Name of the Father and of the Son), (Moskva: Moskovskij Rabochij, 1970), pp. 216-217.
- ¹⁷Ivanov, op.cit., p. 27.
- ¹⁸"Israel: Pogrom at Home?" Time, European edition, October 11, 1976, pp. 28-29.
- ¹⁹One G.Tamarin, an American researcher, studied the responses of 1968 Israeli schoolchildren to questions on the treatment of captive populations in the Middle East. The results were reportedly published in New Outlook (Tel-Aviv), January, 1966, pp. 49-58. This study is referenced in Ivanov, op.cit., pp. 39-40.
- ²⁰I.I.Mints (ed., Sionizm: Teoriya i praktika (Zionism: Theory and Practice) (Moskva: Politizdat, 1973), p. 231.
- ²¹For further information on these differences, see Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism, pp. 308-309. Also see Lucy Dawidowicz, The War Against the Jews 1933-1945, pp. 368-371.
- ²²Heinz Hohne, "Der Orden unter dem Totenkopf", part 10 of a series, Der Spiegel, December 19, 1966, pp. 66-84.
- ²³Reinhard Heydrich, as quoted in Dawidowicz, The War Against the Jews 1933-1945, (Holt, Rinehart and Winston: New York, 1975), p. 84.
- ²⁴Dawidowicz, op.cit., pp. 189-190.
- ²⁵Bol'shakov, op.cit., p. 28.
- ²⁶Bol'shakov, op.cit., p. 28.

²⁷The biographic information on Eichmann is from Simon Wiesenthal, The Murderers Among Us, (New York: Bantam Books, 1973).

²⁸Bol'shakov, op.cit., p.31.

²⁹"The first strain came in 1940 with a succession of illegal immigrant ships from Europe, well organized on the Zionist side and encouraged by the Nazis, who saw in them a means of embroiling the British with the Arabs. The Patria, chartered to remove nearly 2,000 illegal immigrants from Palestine to Mauritius, was actually blown up in Haifa harbour by Jewish terrorists, causing 268 deaths among its helpless Jewish passengers. Another ship, the Struma, was held up in 1942 off Istanbul while the British and Turkish governments negotiated over its disposal. Before this was concluded the Turks ordered the vessel to return to a Black Sea port. She blew up and sank with over 750 Jewish refugees; it was suggested that they also had been made the objects of a political gesture of despair or defiance." Goerge E.Kirk, A Short History of the Middle East, (New York: Frederick A.Praeger, 1961), p. 203.

³⁰Bol'shakov, op.cit., p. 31.

³¹Karl von Horn, Peace Watch, as quoted in V.Chernyavskij, Shpionskij blok sionistov i revanshistov (The Spy Block of the Zionists and Revanchists), Krasnaya Zvezda, February 28, 1970, p. 4.

³²Letter to Pravda, March 12, 1970, p. 4.

³³Ettinger, op.cit., p. 7. Ettinger claims that the statement was made by Dr.Abraham Schvadron as a result of his disagreement with those who underestimated the danger of Nazism.

³⁴S.A.Krylov, Tajnoe oruzhie sionizma (The Secret Weaponry of Zionism), (Moskva: Voenizdat, 1972), p. 30, Information on Egyptian rocket project personnel is taken from Newsweek, April 15, 1963, pp. 26-28.

³⁵V.Emelyanov, "Anti-Communism Today--Zionism in the Service of Anti-Communism", a lecture delivered for the All-Union Znanie Society, as quoted in Julia Wishnevsky, "All-Union 'Znanie' Society steps up Anti-Zionist Propaganda", Radio Liberty Research, RL 354/76, July 14, 1976, p. 2.

³⁶Ivanov, op.cit., p. 25.

³⁷Bol'shakov, op.cit., p. 10.

³⁸Bol'shakov, op.cit., p. 51.

³⁹ Bol'shakov, op.cit., p. 100.

⁴⁰ Bol'shakov, op.cit., p. 47.

⁴¹ A.Kislov, "Sionisti na sluzhbe amerikanskogo imperializma" (Zionists in the Service of American Imperialism), Izvestiya, January 19, 1972, p. 2.

⁴² Harry S.Truman, Years of Trial and Hope, Memoirs by Harry S.Truman, Vol. II (New York: Signet Books, 1956), p. 193.

⁴³ An example of this can be found in Mints, op.cit., p.113.

⁴⁴ Mints, op.cit., p.76.

⁴⁵ Krylov, op.cit., p. 59.

⁴⁶ Bol'shakov, op.cit., p. 116.

⁴⁷ Bol'shakov, op.cit., p. 189.

⁴⁸ A letter was sent to Mr. Wieselth, soliciting his reactions to the Soviet condemnations of him. No reply has yet been received.

⁴⁹ Raevskij, op.cit., p. 5.

⁵⁰ Vatslav Shafranski, In the Webs of Simon Wieselth, as quoted in Raevskij, op.cit., p. 5.

⁵¹ Vostokov, op. cit., p. 24.

⁵² "At this time (circa 1937--D.G.) Trotsky reformulated his views on the Jewish problem. In an interview with the Forwards, another American-Jewish daily, he admitted that recent experience with antisemitism in the Third Reich and even in the U.S.S.R. had caused him to give up his old hope for the 'assimilation' of the Jews with the nations among whom they lived. He had arrived at the view that even under Socialism the Jewish question would require a 'territorial solution', i.e. that the Jews would need to be settled in their own homeland. He did not believe, however, that this would be in Palestine, that Zionism would be able to solve the problem, or that it could be solved under Capitalism." Isaac Deutscher, The Prophet Outcast, Trotsky: 1929-1940, (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), p. 369.

⁵³ Shevtsov, op.cit., p.383.

⁵⁴ Shevtsov, op.cit., p.383.

⁵⁵ Ivanov, op.cit., p.74.

⁵⁶Vostokov, op.cit., p. 28.

⁵⁷Ivanov, op.cit., p.79.

⁵⁸This exact wording is found in two Soviet sources: Nemov, op.cit., p.294; and Vostokov, op. cit., p.34. Whereas Nemov passes the passage off as his own, Vostokov attributes it to A.Malashko, Voinstvuyushchij natsionalizm--ideologiya i politika imperializma (Militant Nationalism--The Ideology and Policy of Imperialism), Minsk, 1971, p. 78. Inasmuch as Vostokov's article appeared in 1973 and Nemov's in 1975, there is no question but that Nemov is the plagiarist.

For further information on the Comintern and Zionism in the 1920's see Jacob Hen-Tov, Communism and Zionism in Palestine, (Cambridge, Mass., Schenkman Publishing Co., 1974).

⁵⁹Ivanov, op.cit., p. 52.

⁶⁰David Ben-Gurion, speech reported in the Jerusalem Post, August 17, 1951, quoted in Ivanov, op.cit., p. 145. (Translation from the Russian mine).

⁶¹Mints, op.cit., P. 141.

⁶²B.Zhirov, "Sionizm--ideologiya i politicheskaya praktika voinstvuyushchikh rasistov" (Zionism--The Ideology and Political Practices of Militant Racists), Partijnaya Zhizn' June 1974, p.72.

⁶³Krylov, op.cit., p.43.

⁶⁴V.Semashin, "Antisovetchiki po professii" (Antisoviets by Profession), Krasnaya Zvezda, September 20, 1973, p. 3.

⁶⁵Letters to Literaturnaya Gazeta, February 11, 1976, p. 13.

⁶⁶"Dyryavye seti sionizma" (The Holey Nets of Zionism), Literaturnaya Gazeta, February 11, 1976, p. 13.

⁶⁷Mints op.cit. p. 210.

Prior to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, the existence of relations between Israel and the Federal Republic was given by Soviet sources as yet another example of the defaming of the memory of those who died in the Holocaust. See for example Ivanov, op.cit., p. 191.

⁶⁸Nemov, op.cit., p. 298.

⁶⁹Bol'shakov, op.cit., p. 191.

⁷⁰King Faisal, "Zionism and Communism" an interview conducted by Arnaud de Borchgrave, Newsweek, December 21, 1970, p. 11.

⁷¹There have been three emigrations since the October Revolution. The First Emigration occurred immediately after the Revolution; the Second occurred during and immediately after World War II; and the Third is going on today. Many of those who came out of the Soviet Union during the Second Emigration collaborated with or were forced to work for the Nazis. Those of the Third Emigration are mostly Jews.

⁷²The U.S. Embassy in Buenos Aires, Argentina, was unable to provide any information either on the financing and circulation of Russkoe Slovo or on the political affiliations of its editor. Russkoe Slovo is also distributed in Europe and North America. The paper regularly carries ads for the works of G.Klimov.

⁷³Klimov, an emigre of the Second Emigration, worked for various U.S.-sponsored projects on the study of the Soviet Union before moving to the U.S.

⁷⁴I.II'in, "Mezhdu strok"(Between the Lines), Russkoe Slovo, July 31, 1976, p. 2.

⁷⁵S.Grigor'evich, "Zapozdalyj trezvon"(Belated Alarm), Russkoe Slovo, July 17, 1976, p. 3.

⁷⁶"Sionizm--Eto reaktsiya, agressiya, rasizm" (Zionism is Reaction, Aggression, and Racism), Literaturnaya Gazeta, April 21, 1976, p. 14.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Love and Hate was not available for this paper. For commentary on the book, however, see: Anthony Astrachan, "A Soviet Author's 'Love and Hate' for the Jews", Atlas, November 19, 1970, pp. 59-61.

⁷⁹Mints, op.cit., p. 30.

⁸⁰Nemov, op.cit., p. 291.

⁸¹Kislov, op.cit.

⁸²Bol'shakov, "Antisovetizm--Professiya sionistov" (Anti-Sovietism--the Profession of the Zionists), Pravda, February 19, 1971, p. 4.

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